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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED WEEKLY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Senate Compromise—The House Resolves to Concur.

From the N. Y. Herald. General Butler achieved on Friday an important victory in the House, in the vote of seventy to ninety-nine whereby that body refused to concur in the Senate's halfway substitute for the House bill absolutely repealing the Tenure-of-Office law.

On Friday, when the subject came up in its regular order, a desultory fight was at once commenced between Butler and his supporters on the one side and the radical repealers on the other, and this skirmishing was continued down to five o'clock, when the original motion to refer the Senate bill to the Judiciary Committee was withdrawn, and the direct question of concurrence was reached.

The subject now goes back to the Senate, and the question is, "shall the Senate recede from its amendment?" Assuming that it will not, a committee of conference on the disagreement between the two houses will be the next proceeding, and then we shall discover whether the Republicans of the House supporting Butler will stand firm or yield to the pressure of the Senate or a party caucus of the House.

Both houses having adjourned over to-day, we may expect some canny manipulations in the interval; but if the House repealers would gain the front rank with the administration in bringing the Senate to the ultimatum of Butler's bill, they will avoid any party caucuses on the subject.

In the beginning of Johnson's administration the Republican conservatives, with the Democrats, had, as they now have, possession of the House. The policy of Congress and the administration was in their hands, and had they acted with anything like sagacity they could have shaped the measures of Congress and the issues of the Presidential succession. But the Democrats, when brought to the pinch, deserted the Republican conservatives and bolted over to "Old Thad Stevens," and hence all the disastrous consequences that followed to Johnson's administration, to the conservative Republicans and to the Democratic party, with the triumph of the radical programme.

England and the Rebellion.

From the N. Y. Times. "The Northerners themselves, in blockading Southern ports, treating the Rebels as a war for the right of blockade belongs to a state of war alone. The Northerners themselves also treated the Confederacy as a de facto sovereign power for their exchanged prisoners with it, accepted their captives as prisoners of war, and in divers ways practically acknowledged the Confederacy as belligerents. And yet the law which their unscrupulous authorities dared to utter on paper, but dared not act upon in practice, they would now cram down the throat of England."

This is very great nonsense, and repeating it constantly will not in the least facilitate the settlement of the Alabama question, nor any of our other difficulties with England. To say that a nation cannot close any of her own ports for purposes of domestic policy, without thereby authorizing foreign powers to take part, directly or indirectly, in her domestic dissensions, is absurd.

The American people are not especially anxious to have the Alabama question settled at present, and they will not consent to have it settled in the way proposed.

Samana or St. Thomas?

From the N. Y. Times. Mr. Fabens, Special Commissioner of the Dominican Government, is now, we presume, on the way to Washington, laden with his instructions to rent the bay of Samana to the United States. We are informed from Havana, however, that he is pursuing the Fabian policy—keeping very quiet and studious, or, as the telegram more elegantly, if more redundantly, expresses it, "he is very reticent on the subject, and no other particulars as to the object of his mission can be obtained."

So, then, St. Domingo is to push St. Thomas from its stool, and, whereas we have just declined the offer of King Christian to buy the harbor of Charlotte Amelia, we are expected to welcome the proposal of President Baz to rent his Bay of Samana. Now, supposing it to be granted, for the moment, that some West Indian harbor is desirable for us to acquire by purchase—which is, of course, a preliminary point—what advantage do we have in renting Samana over buying St. Thomas? We get the exclusive right at a low figure in the one case, the rental at a large one in the other. It is true that the necessities of Baz, his "anxiety to raise the wind" in order to meet his war expenses, will probably reduce very considerably the price originally named. But we treat with a precarious power—a Government on the brink, possibly, of being deposited, while, on the other hand, half the Dominicans are set firmly against the selling of Samana, and will give us

trouble, purchase or no purchase, if they ever come into power. In Mr. Barton's vigorous pamphlet on the Danish Islands, which is wholly directed towards this question, "Are we bound in honor to pay for them?"—to which query he returns a hearty Yes—he introduces, as becomes a shrewd pamphleteer, one or two reasons why, independent of "honor," we are bound in profit to pay for them. He cites high authorities for the value of St. Thomas, and, among others, a noticeable comparison by Mr. L. D. Spaulding, of New Hampshire, of the advantages of St. Thomas over both Samana and Cape St. Nicholas Mole. "It is ready for use," says Mr. Spaulding, "it is a port city built, and no very large amount of money will be required to fit it for naval purposes. But to fit Samana Bay or St. Nicholas Mole for such a use would require about as much money as the first cost of St. Thomas. It is very easy of access and departure—one mile, and you are at sea! Whereas, Samana Bay is very long and difficult to enter or depart from by sailing vessels, and St. Nicholas Mole is also a deep inlet, with a great depth of water, and its only good anchorage is at the head of the bay."

But we do not desire to go into the general question of the desirability of St. Thomas, still less into that of our moral obligation to pay for it. What we rather meant to allude to is the comparative merits of St. Thomas and Samana as subjects of purchase. If we have possibly taken false steps in the one case, we have certainly taken no steps in the other. To treat Denmark as we already have is something; to proceed to buy Samana, after rejecting St. Thomas, would be worse. If we need to buy anything in the West Indies, we had better take St. Thomas. We are aware that Mr. Fabens comes to us with certain advantages. The last Congress developed the existence of a considerable Dominican ring (to use the legal phrase of the day) in the House, and the recent Hayti resolution shows that that ring is still there. But neither this nor the Fabian policy of reticence should avail to foist Samana upon us. We declined St. Thomas on the plea of economy and an empty treasury; should we now go to work to buy or hire a neighboring island, or a part of it, it would be adding, for Denmark, insult to injury.

Labor and Politics.

From the N. Y. Tribune. A very large meeting of workmen was lately held in our city, by which it was unanimously determined, 1. That labor produces everything, yet receives and enjoys but a share—and that not a fair share—of the product; 2. That it has determined that this shall not continue; and 3. That, to secure their full rights, the laboring class will out loose from politics and politicians, and "go it alone" henceforth, not only in shaping a public policy, but in choosing legislators and other functionaries to give effect to that policy. (The resolves are now before us; but this is their drift and purport, according to our recollection.)

The workmen are clearly right in affirming the pre-eminence of labor in questions which are practically social over those which are distinctively political. They want steady work, confined to reasonable hours, with fair recompense for doing it. They want commodious and convenient lodgings, at rates which are not beyond their limited means. They want sanitary regulations which will protect them from noxious effluvia and from the resulting ravages of pestilence. They want good common schools, with ample provision therein for the education of their children. In so far as the State or community shall provide or secure these, it is a blessing to the workmen; while in many if not most of the questions on which our people are divided into parties, they have but a vague, remote interest. It seems, therefore, not only natural but desirable that the workmen should meet as a class, and propose measures of interest to that class, insisting that they shall receive early and thoughtful consideration. We trust that this workmen's movement is not to end with the passage of last Tuesday's resolves, but that a meeting after meeting will be held, in which the rights and wrongs of labor will be more fully and patiently considered than they were or could be at the gathering in question. And, as our first contribution to the sum of knowledge on the general subject of labor reform, we proffer the following frank yet not unfriendly criticisms on the late proceedings at Cooper Institute:—

I do not object to the designation of those who labor for wages as distinctively working men, provided it is fully kept in mind that this is dictated by convenience, and that there are in fact many other working men than they. Thus, the brothers Harpers were not only journeymen printers fifty years ago, but they were remarkably hard working journeymen, who never dreamed that eight or even ten hours' efficient work extended them from doing more while work remained to be done and there was daylight whereby to do it. They are rich and powerful to-day because they were specially energetic and frugal while young and poor. So, we cannot doubt, John Jacob Astor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Alexander T. Stewart, and nearly all our present millionaires, made the very utmost of their hours and their penance in their portliness, friendless youth. Now, we are not commending these men as models for imitation; we do not insist that every poor man should strive to become a rich one—we readily admit that there is force in the statement of those who prefer to "take things easy" and "enjoy life as they go along;" but we insist that the case shall be fairly set forth and clearly understood. Great wealth is the product of rare capacities or of rare diligence and frugality—generally a combination of these. In monarchies it may, to some extent, be won by royal favor. It is not so here. The founders of great fortunes had to work for them, as truly as though they had welded the trowel or shouldered the hod. Let not this truth be ignored or by groundless clamor obscured.

II. The laborer for wages fairly earns their money; but so do others. The skillful engineer who, by his original devices, saves a million days' work in the construction of a great railroad, as fairly earns the \$100,000 paid him for his services as the digger with pick and spade earns his \$2 per day. It becomes either of these useful citizens to disparage the achievement or grudge the recompense of the other. "Live and let live." III. We cannot deny that there is a well-organized array of labor against capital. They are not necessary antagonists. They are natural allies. We lately visited a manufactory at Glenhead, where milk pans, ice-pitchers, and every description of tin-ware are daily stamped from plates or sheets into the desired forms at a single blow, dispensing with seams, solder, etc., altogether. The ware is at once much better as well as cheaper than it would be if made by hand. Labor is thus doubly benefited—it is better paid than formerly, because far more efficient; and it is supplied with cheaper wares. But the machines whereby this is effected cost \$10,000 to \$50,000 each; and their aggregate cost must exceed half a million dollars. Can any good reason be given for antagonism or jealousy between the owner of this machinery and those who own work it or those who buy its products? We

insist that there is or should be none, since all are sharers in a common benefit. And yet ours is not the view which elicits rounds of cheers from assembled workmen.

IV. Though cooperation was alluded to, it did not seem to hold a high place in the confidence or the affections of those who engineered the workmen's meeting. We deeply regret this. To our mind, cooperation is the true and only effectual remedy for many of the evils complained of by the laboring class. Let us take the case of the journeymen tailors for illustration, because they were represented at the meeting as worse paid and more oppressed than most others. These live by making up garments, most of which are bought and worn by working men. Their trade requires no expensive machinery or outfit, and but a few dollars' worth of capital per hand. Let us suppose, then, that one thousand journeymen (and women) tailors should this day resolve to drink no more liquor or lager, use no tobacco, and spend neither time nor money in haunts of dissipation, until they shall have saved an average of \$100 each, and invested the \$100,000 thus accumulated in the stock, implements, and fixtures of a cooperative tailors' establishment, with a stock of ready-made garments constantly replenished by their own labor, while they should stand ready to do custom-work as required. Let manager, buyer, cutters, and makers be paid fair wages each week, and let any profit that should be realized at the year's end be fairly apportioned between capital and labor on some scale previously agreed on as just and equitable—such stockholder receiving a dividend proportioned to the amount of his stock, and each worker a like dividend, based on the amount of his yearly earnings. Why would not this plan work? Why would it not be tried? We believe that there are many among the journeymen tailors who could work out the problem triumphantly; for, if there are not, then the workmen's clamor about the tyranny of capital is even more senseless than we have ever supposed. If working-men will not buy directly of workmen, preferring the intervention of a "boss," or if they cannot trust themselves to choose fit directors of their labor, or if they will not practice the self-denial requisite to gain the moderate capital required, let us ascertain the fact and conform to it. If it will not run the required course, let a rider must not complain of that rider's weight. But we are confident that cooperation is widely practicable, and anxious that the attempt be fairly made. Not the least of its recommendations is the fact that it will preclude further controversy respecting the hours of labor, by rendering each worker the master of his own time, enabling him to work as many or as few hours as he shall see fit.

The United States and Cuba.

From the N. Y. World. Mr. Beecher, in his impetuous advocacy of Cuban independence, at Steiway Hall, was hurried by the warmth of his feelings to utter some sentiments which we fear he will not stand by when applied to a similar case. He asserts for the Cubans the right to independence, to the free adoption of their form of government and the choice of their rulers. Cuba is territorially of the same size as the State of Georgia, and contains a population somewhat larger, consisting of whites and blacks in about the same proportion. Now, since Mr. Beecher so warmly asserts for the Cubans the right to adopt their own form of government and choose their own rulers, free from outside constraint, we wish he had told his audience why the same right does not equally belong to the people of the State of Georgia. The two are so nearly alike in area, so nearly equal in population, so similar in the relative proportions of the two races, that Georgia ought to be as capable as Cuba of governing herself wisely. She ought, indeed, to be much more capable; for she is superior in education and has had the advantage of a long training in self-government. It does not become Mr. Beecher, nor anybody who acts in the same party with him, to flame up in zealous championship of Cuban self-government, while trampling this right into the dust in our own Southern States.

American sympathies are naturally on the side of Cuba in her struggle for independence, as they have uniformly been on the side of the Spanish colonies in their revolt from the mother country. But history has taught us to reflect more on the rights of the latter. The mere throwing off of a foreign yoke is not a benefit worth the blood it costs, unless the insurgent people possess sufficient wisdom, virtue, and steadiness to establish a tolerably good government for their own protection, and to uphold and perpetuate it when established. Unfortunately, experience does not justify any very sanguine belief in the capacity of the Spanish race on this continent to maintain order by means of free institutions. If Cuba should exchange her recent condition for the anarchy which has so long prevailed in Mexico, and the chaos which now reigns in the Confederate States, we should hesitate to congratulate her on her independence. If the present population of Georgia, blacks and whites, were located on the island of Cuba in place of the present inhabitants, we should feel no misgiving respecting the practical benefits of independence, if it could be achieved. The people would be competent to preserve order, administer justice, protect industry and commerce, and maintain proper international relations. But republican institutions have not yet had any such success among the revolted colonies of Spain in this hemisphere as should encourage our Government to take any very active part in behalf of the Cuban insurgents, even if we were restrained by no obligations of international law.

Mr. Beecher, in addressing the meeting at Steiway Hall, disclaimed, with much fervor of asseveration, any intention on the part of the American friends of the Cubans to make the independence of the island a step towards acquiring it ourselves. Such asseverations have no tendency to raise our estimate of Mr. Beecher's ingenuousness and sincerity. No well-informed man can doubt that the American people have no desire to take any part that they confidently expect that it will some day be ours. The geographical reasons for its acquisition are very strong, and nothing but the fact that Spain was too imbecile a power to use the island for our annoyance has prevented our seizing a possession which she has repeatedly refused to sell. It has long been the settled and boldly-proclaimed purpose of our Government that Cuba shall never pass from Spain to any other power than ourselves, except to become independent. The island stretches along several hundred miles facing our coast, separated from it by a channel of the great width, through which our vast coasting trade between the Gulf and the Atlantic cities must pass, as well as the coasting trade between our Atlantic and Pacific States, which, whenever the Darien Canal shall be completed, will be enormous. Cuba abounds in good harbors, and in the hands of a strong naval power, it could be used as a position for annihilating our coasting trade and shutting us out from any intercourse by water between the Atlantic and the Gulf. Every well-informed American has long regarded the possession of Cuba as an ultimate geographical necessity. Its acquisition has been postponed partly for temporary

reasons of domestic policy, and partly because we have nothing to fear from a despot power like Spain. As John Quincy Adams said, more than forty years ago, "the Paris is not yet ripe." If Cuba were once independent, it is so certain that we could make it for her advantage to cast her lot with us, that there can be no reasonable doubt that she would be long apply for admission into the Union. We dare say that Mr. Beecher himself would be among the first, not merely to persuade her to come, but, if it should prove necessary, to advocate bringing her in by force.

If Cuba should gain her independence, slavery in that island is doomed, and the same problem of "reconstruction" would be presented there as in our Southern States. The Cubans would attempt to establish a republican government, and if left to themselves, it is by no means certain that they would be enamored of the radical pattern and build their institutions on the basis of black suffrage. After emancipation there would be the same classes, and somewhat the same state of society, as existed in the South at the close of our civil war. The ex-masters would not be disposed to treat their late slaves as equals. The white race would probably organize a government from which the negroes would be excluded. The utter incapacity for representative institutions evinced by the negroes of the British West Indies would naturally have an influence on the independent Cubans. In Jamaica there was at first a regular legislature consisting of two branches, the lower house elected by universal suffrage and having the power to originate money bills. Although the home government had a negative upon all laws, it was found necessary to strip the legislature, from time to time, of its powers, until finally it became such a farce, and such a marvel of ignorance and stupidity, that it was thought best to abolish representative institutions in Jamaica altogether. At present, there is not an officer in the island chosen by the people, so utterly has negro suffrage broken down and exploded in the course of a thorough trial under favoring guardianship and tutelage. Jamaica has become what is called a crown colony. Every officer in it is appointed by the Crown. Even its Legislative Council of thirteen, of which the Governor is one, are nominated by the Crown, and subject to removal at its will. Intelligent Cubans cannot have been inattentive to the collapse of representative institutions in Jamaica, and they may not incline to try a similar abortive experiment of black suffrage in their own island.

We wish Mr. Beecher had seen fit, in his recent speech, to express his views on "reconstruction" in Cuba, and to tell what he would do if, after the independence of the island is achieved, it should proceed to establish a white man's government, giving the negroes equal civil rights, but excluding them from all political franchises. Does he believe that the intermeddling radicals of the country would rest easy in view of such a state of things? Does he not know, does not every man know who knows anything of the temper of that party, that they would get up a furious agitation for subverting the independence of Cuba and annexing it to the United States, in order to force negro reconstruction upon the island?

For our part, we should be glad to see Cuba really independent until the negro experiment collapses in this country, if we felt any confidence that the Spanish whites in that island have as much political capacity as our white fellow-citizens of the South. We should be glad to have the two experiments go on simultaneously under the eye of the world, in order that we might judge, by their comparative success, between the two methods of dealing with the negro race in a state of freedom. If negro suffrage should flicker out in disgrace in this country, as it has in Jamaica, it might be for the general advantage to be able to recur to an instructive example of governing a community with a large intermixture of negroes by a more rational method.

At a recent evening church service in Boston, Whittier's "Two Rabbits" was read at the conclusion of the sermon.

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